

# **A Central Asian Perspective of Security in Afghanistan**

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In the ten years since the start of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) the five Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) contributed support for International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operations by granting overflight rights and use of airfields for transit or search and rescue operations, and allowing overland logistics of non-lethal supplies.<sup>1</sup> The drawdown of forces in 2014 from Afghanistan will affect the conduct of regional affairs and regional security, particularly for the countries of Central Asia. However, Central Asian perspectives of the future of Afghanistan are often overlooked. There are a number of articles by security analysts and academics in Central Asia that offer detailed and candid perspectives of ISAF operations and security in Afghanistan, though these may not be noticed or well received by policy-makers in the United States. A brief examination of articles by one such author, Dr. Viktor Dubovitsky, can help better understand the Central Asian perspective of security in Afghanistan. It is also worth comparing Dubovitsky's thoughts with an official perspective.

Dr. Dubovitsky is the Deputy Director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan and has written several articles that present a Central Asian perspective of operations in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of combat forces from there in 2014. A quick review of several of Dubovitsky's articles (from July 2010 to June 2012) indicates that there are four main points. First, Dubovitsky considers that U.S. and coalition efforts to provide security in Afghanistan have failed.<sup>2</sup> Second, he believes that the Afghan National Army (ANA) will not be ready to take over its responsibilities for security by 2014.<sup>3</sup> Third, he foresees that the planned withdrawal will destabilize the Central Asia region, resulting in increasing demands for

regional security organizations like the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Dubovitsky believes that these organizations may need to intervene in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, or Uzbekistan in the event of a conflict.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he sees the withdrawal of coalition forces leading to a civil war between Pashtuns and the other ethnic groups of Afghanistan, including Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks, and he sees them creating a new version of the Northern Alliance.<sup>5</sup>

Since Dubovitsky has a negative view of the overall situation and future of Afghanistan, Western audiences may quickly dismiss him; nevertheless, these are significant articles. Before examining the significance of Dubovitsky's perspective, it is worth taking a brief look at the Central Asian governments' involvement with Afghanistan before 2001. This provides context to his perspective; however, this is only one viewpoint. For example, Kamoludin Abdullaev, also a professor from Tajikistan, believes that threats to Central Asian security will not come from Afghanistan, but rather from circumstances within each of the countries.<sup>6</sup>

### *Central Asia's Involvement with Afghanistan: 1991-2001*

The governments of Central Asia not only had an obvious concern for what was happening during the Afghan Civil War in the 1990s, but also had some involvement in it. Tajikistan and India established a small hospital at Tajikistan's Farkhor airfield (just across the border from the Takhar Province, Afghanistan). The hospital attended to wounded members of the Northern Alliance. When prominent commander Ahmad Shah Massoud (an ethnic Tajik) was mortally wounded by an assassin on September 8, 2001, he was flown to Farkhor for treatment, but died en route.<sup>7</sup> Besides the hospital, the Northern Alliance maintained an embassy in Dushanbe, Tajikistan up until and during the early stages of OEF.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to Tajikistan, the government of Uzbekistan gave various levels of support to the Northern Alliance, particularly to ethnic Uzbek leader Rashid Dostum, although this support has not been consistent from the 1990s through the present. The government of Uzbekistan has also supported Atta Mohammed Nur, the ethnic Tajik governor of the northern Balkh Province and former commander in the Northern Alliance. Most visibly, Governor Nur received medical treatment in Uzbekistan in 2009.<sup>9</sup>

Before 2001 the governments of Central Asia did not limit their involvement in Afghanistan by supporting one Northern Alliance leader or another. In 1997 Uzbek President Islam Karimov proposed a group called Six plus Two to the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy on Afghanistan, Lakhdar Brahimi. Six plus Two included all the countries bordering Afghanistan (China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) plus the two other countries with an interest in security in Afghanistan (the United States and Russia). The goal of Six plus Two was to create a dialogue between the member nations and all factions in Afghanistan, ultimately so that the conflict would be resolved through negotiation and not military means.<sup>10</sup>

The UN Security Council backed the declaration, particularly its goals of not providing weapons or military support to any group in Afghanistan. The organization held a few meetings to discuss ending the conflict and eliminating drug trafficking and production originating in Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup> Six plus Two effectively stopped meeting following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. President Karimov tried to revitalize the group during the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest.<sup>12</sup> The group would have been called Six plus Three, to include of all the previous members with the addition of NATO. However, Six plus Three did not receive much support and has remained only a proposal.<sup>13</sup>

### *A Comparison of Dubovitsky's and an Official Perspective*

The governments of Central Asia are not likely to make public statements as blunt as Dubovitsky's assessment, but they have expressed concern about security issues stemming from the 2014 drawdown in Afghanistan.<sup>14</sup> However, there is one example that reveals the government perspective just as much as any official statements.

On May 18, 2011 Kazakhstan's Majilis (the lower house of parliament) approved a bill to send four soldiers to the ISAF headquarters in Kabul, Afghanistan. The bill came from an earlier agreement with NATO, stipulating that the soldiers would serve in non-combat positions for a period of several months on a rotating basis.<sup>15</sup> On June 9, 2011 Kazakhstan's Senate (the upper house of parliament) refused to ratify the bill on the deployment. The bill has not been revived.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the Senate's refusal, there was speculation that the government had capitulated to a threat from the Taliban. On May 22, 2011 the Taliban issued a statement to Kazakhstan that warned sending troops to Afghanistan would have consequences.<sup>17</sup> The statement came soon after a suicide bomber attacked the provincial National Security Committee (KNB) headquarters in the city of Aktobe and a car bomb exploded outside a KNB detention facility in Astana, Kazakhstan.<sup>18</sup> However, there was no connection between the bombings and the Taliban and, moreover, veterans groups (of the Soviet war in Afghanistan) and the general public expressed strong opposition to the bill.<sup>19</sup>

The decision not to support the deployment of soldiers to Afghanistan is significant when considering the level of security cooperation between the United States and Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan has had the most involvement in security cooperation with the United States among

the Central Asian countries. This involvement includes U.S. assistance with the removal of Kazakhstan's nuclear weapons that the country had inherited with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan's participation with the Arizona National Guard in the U.S. National Guard State Partnership Program since the mid-1990s, Kazakhstan's participation in the Central Asian Peacekeeping Battalion (CENTRASBAT) in the late 1990s, and the development of the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Brigade (KAZBRIG) to achieve interoperability with NATO forces for potential peacekeeping missions.<sup>20</sup> Kazakhstan has also participated in a number of joint exercises with the United States that dealt with disaster response, command and control, various tactics, and peacekeeping. The exercises include:

- Joint Combined Training Exercises (JCET) exercises: "Balance Kayak (1996-1999)," "Balance Bars (2002)," and "Balance Zhardem (1999, 2002, and 2005),"<sup>21</sup>
- Cooperative Osprey exercises in 1996, 1998, and 2001<sup>22</sup>
- Cooperative Nugget exercises in 1997 and 2000<sup>23</sup>
- Combined Endeavor exercises in 1998-2004 and 2009-2011<sup>24</sup>
- International Workshop for Emergency Response (IWER) exercises in 1999-2001<sup>25</sup>
- Regional Cooperation Exercises in 2001 and 2004-2012<sup>26</sup>
- Steppe Eagle exercises in 2003-2012;<sup>27</sup> an exercise is planned for August 2013<sup>28</sup>
- Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) exercises: "Fergana-2003," "Zhetysu-2009," "CODRII-2011," and "Georgia-2012,"<sup>29</sup>
- RESCUER/MEDCUER exercise in 2005<sup>30</sup>

Additionally, a group from KAZBRIG (then called the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion, KAZBBAT) deployed to Iraq from 2003-08 and sustained one casualty in 2005.<sup>31</sup>

Despite Kazakhstan's active participation in security cooperation with the United States, which does indicate some common strategic goals, the government of Kazakhstan did not consider the deployment of four soldiers to ISAF to be in its best interests, although Kazakhstan will continue supporting stability in Afghanistan in other ways.<sup>32</sup> While this is not a specific or blunt assessment of operations and the development of the ANA in Afghanistan, it does provide insight into one official perspective alongside Dubovitsky's on these two issues.

One of the other points that Dubovitsky asserts is that the CSTO and the SCO will have increasing demands placed on them in 2014 and that the organizations may need to intervene in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, or Uzbekistan in the event of a conflict spreading from Afghanistan. Both organizations have expressed concern about what will happen in Afghanistan in 2014.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the CSTO granted observer status to Afghanistan in April 2013.<sup>34</sup> In the last several years both organizations conducted numerous joint military exercises that trained for scenarios of responding to a conflict similar to what they believe could emerge from Afghanistan. The exercises include:

- Commonwealth Southern Shield exercises 1999-2002<sup>35</sup>
- Rubezh (Frontier) exercises in 2004-2007, and 2010;<sup>36</sup> Rubezh exercises also took place in 2008 and 2012, but focused on incidents in Russia and Armenia respectively
- Tsentr exercises in 2008, 2011<sup>37</sup>
- Interaction-2009;<sup>38</sup> Interaction exercises also took place in 2010 and 2012, but like Rubezh, focused on incidents in Russia and Armenia respectively

- Cobalt-2010<sup>39</sup>
- Enduring Brotherhood-2012<sup>40</sup>

SCO exercises include:

- Exercise-01 (in 2001)<sup>41</sup>
- Coalition-2003 (also referred to as Cooperation-2003)<sup>42</sup>
- Peace Mission exercises in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, and 2012<sup>43</sup>
- Tianshan I (2006) and Tianshan II (2011)<sup>44</sup>
- Vostok (East) Antiterror 2006<sup>45</sup>
- Issyk-Kul Antiterror 2007<sup>46</sup>
- Volgograd Antiterror 2008<sup>47</sup>
- Norak Antiterror 2009<sup>48</sup>

While the lists of exercises show that both organizations have been preparing for possible threats, Dubovitsky does not clarify what he means by saying the organizations may need to intervene. He could be referring to a peacekeeping force or at least some form of security assistance in response to a conflict. An intervention by a peacekeeping force in any one of these three countries by either the CSTO or SCO would be complicated, perhaps unfeasible. A fundamental issue that cannot be overlooked when considering an intervention by either or both organizations is the facts that Turkmenistan is not a member of either organization and Uzbekistan is only a member of the SCO.<sup>49</sup>

The CSTO's main agreements state that the organization does not interfere in the domestic affairs of its member states, much less that of other states, although there are exceptions to this. The agreements outline situations when the organization could intervene, but this only applies to member states and relates to situations when the security of a member of the



organization is threatened by an external force. The CSTO could deploy to a member state in response to an internal conflict, but only at the request of that government and with a majority support of other member states; this is a relatively recent change after it received criticism for not responding to the June 2010 violence in southern Kyrgyzstan, but at that time the CSTO could not have because of its charter.<sup>50</sup> The organization's agreements allow for a peacekeeping force to deploy in response to a conflict outside of a member state, but only with the backing of the UN.<sup>51</sup> However, the CSTO has not indicated that it would provide peacekeepers for a conflict in a non-member state, and specifically excluded intervention in Afghanistan after 2014.<sup>52</sup>

The SCO's charter is similar to the CSTO's in that the organization's principles state that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states. The SCO's security focus is to combat terrorism, separatism, and extremism.<sup>53</sup> It has taken steps to work with Afghanistan on security issues; it set up a contact group with Afghanistan in 2005 and gave the country status as an observer in the organization in 2012.<sup>54</sup> The SCO does not have any framework to intervene in the event of a conflict in a member or non-member state, but, through the organization's Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS), member states share intelligence and coordinate policy on dealing with threats.<sup>55</sup>

Dubovitsky's belief that the CSTO and SCO will have increasing demands placed on them does have merit when compared to how the organizations perceive the main threats to security in the region. Both organizations have been preparing for the 2014 drawdown of ISAF forces from Afghanistan. However, Dubovitsky's belief that both may need to intervene in the event of a conflict is not in line with what the organizations are able to do according to their charters and main agreements. The CSTO could intervene in Tajikistan, but only after a request from that government and approval from a majority of CSTO members. The CSTO could

intervene in Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan, but only if it were tasked to do so by the UN.

Additionally, the CSTO has shown that it is not interested in deploying peacekeepers to Afghanistan, making it unlikely that the organization would get involved in a conflict outside the zone of its members. Outside of the CSTO, the Russian government has considered deploying its border forces to Tajikistan; this was mentioned in May 2011 and again in May 2013.<sup>56</sup>

Russian border forces were deployed in Tajikistan on the Tajik-Afghan border following the collapse of the Soviet Union through the Tajik Civil War (1992-97) until 2005.<sup>57</sup> However, a redeployment of Russian border forces has not received consideration in Tajikistan.

In accordance with its current charter, the SCO, quite simply, would not intervene in a conflict in any of the three countries. The organization would very likely offer support through the RATS, but this would not include Turkmenistan. Individually, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan have stated concerns about security in Afghanistan and what might happen with the 2014 drawdown of forces.<sup>58</sup> In any case, support through the RATS may not be the level of intervention that Dubovitsky sees as necessary.

The last point that Dubovitsky raises is that the drawdown in 2014 will lead to a civil war in Afghanistan and that non-Pashtun ethnic groups will form a new Northern Alliance. This is a much more complicated point to compare to an official perspective. Based on these governments' past involvement with Afghanistan, there is no question they would have concerns about a civil war along their southern border. President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has stated that he does not believe in negative predictions regarding Central Asian security in 2014.<sup>59</sup> This was repeated by Kazakhstan's first deputy minister of defense.<sup>60</sup> As previously mentioned, the governments of Central Asia have expressed concerns about the 2014 drawdown, but they have not specifically predicted a civil war in Afghanistan or the formation of a new

Northern Alliance. These governments continue to support Hamid Karzai and the current government of Afghanistan, and voicing this kind of prediction would likely undermine Karzai's government.<sup>61</sup>

It is worth examining events that may have influenced Dubovitsky. In 2011 and 2012 Mohammed Daud Daud, Burhanuddin Rabbani, and Ahmad Khan Samangani were assassinated; all had been involved in the Northern Alliance.<sup>62</sup> These were among a number of assassinations of well known Afghan figures across the country over the last several years, although not all those killed were a part of the Northern Alliance.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, in November 2011 some of the leaders of the political parties that made up the Northern Alliance formed a coalition, the Coalition of Afghanistan National Front.<sup>64</sup>

Dubovitsky cites the assassinations of Daud Daud and Rabbani as proof of a future civil war.<sup>65</sup> He does not, however, mention the National Front coalition, even in his two articles written after November 2011.<sup>66</sup>

The value of looking at an official (Central Asian governments' or security organizations') perspective on the same issues that Dubovitsky wrote about is that this makes it possible to see some parallels between the two. The governments of Central Asia have not made any statements as blunt as Dubovitsky about security in Afghanistan or the capabilities of the ANA, although they have concerns about the overall situation. Kazakhstan's decision not to deploy four soldiers to ISAF headquarters does not definitively demonstrate a Central Asian perspective, as it does not include the other four governments. However, considering the level of security cooperation between the United States and Kazakhstan, particularly the development of KAZBRIG for the purpose of achieving interoperability with NATO peacekeeping forces, the

government's decision was notable. It shows that at least one official perspective on these two issues is not far off from Dubovitsky's.

The CSTO's and SCO's perspectives on Afghanistan are also similar to Dubovitsky's; this comes from official statements and the numerous joint exercises that each organization conducted. Dubovitsky's view that these organizations will need to intervene in Central Asia does not match with what either is currently able to do according their charters and main agreements. While it is possible for the CSTO to intervene, the organization's requirements for an intervention make it unlikely.

Lastly, Dubovitsky's belief that the 2014 drawdown will cause a civil war in Afghanistan and the formation of a new Northern Alliance is too difficult to compare to an official perspective. Instead of making a comparison between Dubovitsky's and an official perspective, it is worth considering that if Dubovitsky's prediction of a civil war were to come true, the countries of Central Asia could be facing a similar set of circumstances that they did from 1991-2001. Based on Central Asian governments' involvement with Afghanistan during this time period, a civil war would cause a lot of concern and is likely something that they have taken into account.

The overall significance of Dubovitsky's perspective is that it does agree with some official perspectives. Unlike government officials in Central Asia, Dubovitsky is able to voice his viewpoint without having to be diplomatic. The similarities do not mean that Dubovitsky is representative of an official stance, but that consideration should be given to what he has written.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Air Force, Transit Center at Manas, <http://www.manas.afcent.af.mil/index.asp>, (accessed March 25, 2013); U.S. Air Force, "Ganci AB Supports Flood of Soldiers," August 7, 2003, <http://www.af.mil/news/story.asp?storyID=123005381>, (accessed March 25, 2013); "Kyrgyzstan Orders U.S. to

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<sup>2</sup> Viktor Dubovitsky, “Afganskiĭ rimeĭk,” *Afghanistan.ru*, July 29, 2010, <http://www.afghanistan.ru/doc/17985.html>, (accessed May 2, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Viktor Dubovitsky, “Sokrushitel’nyĭ udar po «Nesokrushimoĭ svobode»,” *Peacekeeper.ru*, June 25, 2012, <http://peacekeeper.ru/ru/?module=news&action=view&id=15198>, (accessed May 2, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> “Viktor Dubovitsky: «vyvod voĭsk SSHA i ikh soyuznikov iz afganistana sushchestvenno izmenit situatsiyu v tsentral’noĭ azii»,” *Politikom*, December 8, 2010, <http://www.politcom.ru/article.php?id=11146>, (accessed May 2, 2013); Viktor Dubovitsky, “Ocherednoĭ iskhod evropeĭsev iz Afganistana i vektory afganskogo Vozrozhdeniya,” *Asia-Plus*, October 7, 2011, <http://www.asia-plus.tj/en/node/110359>, (accessed May 2, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Dubovitsky, “Afganskiĭ rimeĭk,”; Viktor Dubovitsky, “Amerikanskiĭ Plan “B”: raschlenenie Afganistana,” *Peacekeeper.ru*, March 23, 2011, <http://www.peacekeeper.ru/ru/?module=news&action=view&id=12443>, (accessed May 2, 2013); Viktor Dubovitsky, “«Nesokrushimaya svoboda» mozhet prinesti afgantsam grazhdanskuyu voĭnu,” *Peacekeeper.ru*, May 30, 2011, <http://peacekeeper.ru/ru/?module=news&action=view&id=12789>, (accessed May 2, 2013); Viktor Dubovitsky, “Afganistan: kto vydaet litsenzii na ostrel,” *Peacekeeper.ru*, February 2, 2012, <http://peacekeeper.ru/ru/?module=news&action=view&id=14094>, (accessed May 2, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> “Kamoluddin Abdullaev: Tret’ya grazhdanskaya voĭna v Tadjikistane mozhet doĭti do ulits Moskvyy,” *Regnum Belarus*, February 20, 2013, <http://www.belarus.regnum.ru/news/1627266.html>, (accessed March 27, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Coll, Steve. *Ghost Wars*, New York: The Penguin Press, 2004; Sudha Ramachandran, “India’s Foray Into Central Asia,” *Asia Times*, August 12, 2006, [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/HH12Df01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/HH12Df01.html), (accessed November 28, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Viktoria Panfilova and Nataliya Pulina, “Sud’ba Masuda neyasna,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 12, 2001, [http://www.ng.ru/politics/2001-09-12/1\\_masud.html](http://www.ng.ru/politics/2001-09-12/1_masud.html), (accessed November 28, 2012).

<sup>9</sup> Bernardo Teles Fazendeiro, “Uzbekistan’s Afghan Interests and Its Foreign Policy after 2014: A turning point for opening Central Asia?,” Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, *Central Asia Series* 12, no. 3 (2012), <http://www.da.mod.uk/publications/library/central-asian-series/20120710-cas-12-03-U.pdf/view>, (accessed

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<sup>10</sup> See: UN Security Council Press Release, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19991022.sc6743.doc.html>, (accessed March 26, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> See: UN Information Service, <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2000/sg2511.html>, (accessed March 26, 2013); and <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2000/sg2666.html>, (accessed March 26, 2013).

<sup>12</sup> *Jahon*, Information Agency of the MFA of Uzbekistan, "Address by President of the Republic of Uzbekistan H.E. Mr. Islam Karimov at the NATO/EPAC Summit, Bucharest, April 3, 2008, [http://web.archive.org/web/20100728233939/http://www.jahonnews.uz/eng/president/addresses\\_speeches/address\\_by\\_president\\_of\\_the\\_republic\\_of\\_uzbekistan\\_islam\\_karimov.mgr](http://web.archive.org/web/20100728233939/http://www.jahonnews.uz/eng/president/addresses_speeches/address_by_president_of_the_republic_of_uzbekistan_islam_karimov.mgr), (accessed with the Way Back Machine, March 26, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> "Verkhushka talibov ne mozhet byt' proshchena," *Vremya Novostei*, November 17, 2008, <http://www.vremya.ru/2008/212/5/217155.html>, (accessed March 26, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> "Odnou iz samykh aktual'nykh zadach SVMDA yavlyatsya realizatsiya mer, napravlennykh na reshenie problem Afganistana – N. Nazarbayev," *Kazinform*, September 12, 2012, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2493860>, (accessed May 1, 2013); "Tokon Mamytov: Afganistan mozhet stat' ugrozoi dlya vseh stran-uchastnits ODKB," *Vechernii Bishkek*, September 18, 2012, [http://www.vb.kg/doc/199920\\_tokon\\_mamytov:\\_afganistan\\_mojet\\_stat\\_vgrozoy\\_dlia\\_vseh\\_stran\\_ychastnic\\_odkb.html](http://www.vb.kg/doc/199920_tokon_mamytov:_afganistan_mojet_stat_vgrozoy_dlia_vseh_stran_ychastnic_odkb.html), (accessed May 1, 2013); "Emomali Rakhmon obespokoen bezopasnost'yu Tadzhikistana posle ukhoda sil NATO iz Afganistana," *Trend*, April 20, 2012, <http://www.trend.az/regions/casia/tajikistan/2017015.html>, (accessed May 1, 2013); "Prezident Uzbekistana schitaet neobkhodimym sozdaniye gruppy dialoga po Afganistanu," *Trend*, December 8, 2012, <http://www.trend.az/regions/casia/uzbekistan/2096959.html>, (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Muratbek Makulbekov, "Kazakhstan napravil chetyrekh ofitserov v sostav Mezhdunarodnykh sil sodeystviya bezopasnosti v Afganistane," *Kazinform*, May 18, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2380929>, (accessed April 18, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Muratbek Makulbekov, "SROCHNO: Senat otklonil zakonoproekt o ratifikatsii Soglasheniya o napravlenii kazakhstanskikh voennikh v Afganistan," *Kazinform*, June 9, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2386428>, (accessed April 18, 2013); Roger McDermott, "Kazakhstan's Senate 'Rejects' Planned Deployment to Afghanistan," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 8, no. 119, June 21, 2011, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=38078](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=38078), (accessed April 18, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> "Afghan talibs warn Kazakhstan," *Tengri News*, May 23, 2011, [http://en.tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan\\_news/1942/](http://en.tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/1942/), (accessed April 18, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Zhannat Sisekenova and Albina Akhmetova, "Trevozhnoe Utro," *Liter*, May 18, 2011, [http://www.liter.kz/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=6035&Itemid=2](http://www.liter.kz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=6035&Itemid=2), (accessed April 18, 2013); Maxim Popov, "VIDEO i FOTO: Vzryv pogremel primerno v 30 metrakh ot CIZO KNB v Astane," *Tengri News*, May 24, 2011, [http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan\\_news/188653/](http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/188653/), (accessed April 18, 2013).

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